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Lorenzo Valla's autograph notabilia to Cicero and Boethius in Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 475

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Published in:
 Studi medievali e Umanistici

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
 Final author's version (accepted by publisher, after peer review)

Publication date:
 2007

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Nauta, L. (2007). Lorenzo Valla's autograph notabilia to Cicero and Boethius in Florence, BML, Conv. Soppr. 475. *Studi medievali e Umanistici*, 5-6, 446-459.

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tentativo: non è forse casuale che nessun *excerptum* erodoteo sia stato da lui trascritto nell'Urb. gr. 131, accanto a quelli tucididei, all'*Epitafio* lisiano e all'*Apologia per l'uccisione di Eratostene*. D'altra parte – se mai fu scritto – qualora un manoscritto con *excerpta* erodotei di mano di Lapo venga un giorno alla luce, lo si dovrà considerare apografo diretto dell'Erodoto Laur. Conv. soppr. 207.

DAVID SPERANZI

3. *Lorenzo Valla's autograph notabilia to Cicero and Boethius in Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 475*

Lorenzo Valla left his hand in a number of MSS. The three most famous examples are his annotations in a copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in Paris BN 7723; his notes to the text of Livy in British Library, Harl. 2493, occasionally correcting Petrarch's autograph glosses; and the text of *Antidotum in Poggium* in Paris BN 8691¹. The list of autographs – including his Greek handwriting – is considerable, and recently new items have been added to the list: Valla's annotations (hardly more than *notabilia*) to Boethius' commentary, with translation, on Aristotle's *Περὶ ἐρμηνείας* and a small passage from the Greek text of Aristotle's *Poetics*². In this article another example of Valla's autograph annotations – again, hardly more than *notabilia* – will briefly be studied: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. soppr. 475, which contains the text of Cicero's *Topica* and Boethius' *In Ciceronis Topica*, as well as Pseudo-

¹ For the first see L. VALLA, *Le Postille all'Institutio Oratoria di Quintiliano*, ed. L. CESARINI MARTINELLI and A. PEROSA, Padua 1996. The second is available in a facsimile: G. BILLANOVICH, *La traduzione del testo di Livio e le origine dell'Umanesimo*, vol. 2: *Il Livio del Petrarca e del Valla*, Padua 1981. For the third see A. WESSELING, *Antidotum primum: la prima apologia contro Poggio Bracciolini*, Assen 1978, 55-59 and S. I. CAMPOREALE, *Lorenzo Valla: umanesimo e teologia*, Florence 1972, 21-22 and appendix. For a list of autographs see L. VALLA, *De vero falsoque bono*, ed. M. DE PANIZZA LORCH, Bari 1970, LXXIII and *Valle Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, ed. O. BESOMI, Padua 1973, XXVIII n. 1 plus the additions listed in M. REGOLIOSI, *Le congetture a Livio del Valla: Metodo e problemi*, in *Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici*, eds. O. BESOMI and M. REGOLIOSI, Padua 1986, 63 n. 26.

² Both texts have been discovered by Stefano Pagliaroli; see his *Lorenzo Valla e il commento di Boezio al Περὶ ἐρμηνείας di Aristotele*, «Studi mediev. e umanistici», 3 (2005), 147-63 (on Paris BN 6400D) and his *Lorenzo Valla e la Poetica*

Boethius' *Liber de definitione*. Gabriella Pomaro identified the hand of Valla among the marginal annotations, but no study of the MS or the annotations has been made so far¹.

The MS belonged to Giovanni da Tivoli, the Dominican friar of whom we know that he lectured on grammar in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, in 1447. Valla was clearly impressed by Giovanni's learning and recommended him in a letter from 1450 to Giovanni Tortelli. Valla also mentions Giovanni da Tivoli's discoveries of copies of the Greek text of the New Testament². So it is easy to imagine that either Valla borrowed the MS from Giovanni when the two men met in Rome in the 1450s (or earlier), or that Valla already owned the MS and bequeathed it to Giovanni. In any case, Giovanni possessed the book, as appears from a note on fol. 1r: «iste liber fuit fratris Johannis de Tibure sacre theologie venerabilis bachalarii ordinis predicatorum. Qui legerit in eo oret pro ipso». Together with at least two other books (a Sallust and a Columella) he donated it to Santa Maria Novella³.

The texts in this MS are written on paper, in one column, by one and the same hand from the mid fifteenth century, using a humanist cursive⁴. The dimensions are 28,5x22 cm. The contents are as follows:

[I] 1r-12r: Cicero's *Topica* [see *De inventione*; *De optimo genere oratorum*; *Topica*, ed. and transl. H. M. HUBBELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1968]

12r: a diagram of *datto*

di Aristotele, *ibid.*, 2 (2004), 352-56 (on Paris BN gr. 2999). I am grateful to him for communicating his findings with me (see now also his *L'Erodoto del Valla*, Messina 2006). The first article also contains an extensive bibliography listing the literature on Valla's autographs (see esp. 149, n. 1); I shall refrain from repeating it here.

¹ See the brief description of the MS in her *Censimento dei manoscritti di S. Maria Novella. Parte II: sec. XV-XVI in.*, «Mem. domenicane», n. s., 13 (1982), 203-353, at 295, and see 291 (on BML, Conv. soppr. 285). I studied the MS in Florence in May 2006 and in April 2007.

² L. VALLA, *Epistole*, eds. O. BESOMI and M. REGOLIOSI, Padua 1984, 352-53 (letter no. 49). For Valla's references to Giovanni da Tivoli see VALLA, *Opera Omnia*, Basel 1540; repr. with extra vol., Turin, vol. 1, 340 and 845. On Giovanni see CAMPOREALE, *Lorenzo Valla*, 439-40 and the older literature cited there; L. VALLA, *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, ed. A. PEROSA, Florence 1970, XXXII.

³ Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 285 (Columella, *De agricultura libri XII*), and BML, Conv. soppr. 522 (Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Iugurthinum*). These two books do not contain glosses in Valla's hand.

⁴ «Cart. 28,5x22, I+118+I' (I, I' membr.; numeraz. moderna in alto, precedente

12v: a diagram of *causa*, divided into *iudicialis* and *deliberativa* with further subdivisions

[II] 13r-95r: Boethius, *In Topica Ciceronis* [*Patrologia Latina* 64:1039D-1169D; ed. J. ORELLI and G. BAITER, *Ciceronis Opera quae supersunt*, V 1, Zürich 1833]

13r: «incipientes quancumque rem scribere [...]»; «[...] non est industria sed natura» [This introduction does not belong to the text, but occurs in MSS of the text; cf. Cologne, Dombibl., 198, fol. 2r]

13r: book I; 28r: book II; 41v: book III; 57r: book V; 86r: book VI; 95r: end of book V: «talīs etiam est uis fortuitarum rerum» (ed. ORELLI, 388; *PL* 64:1169D, with slightly different readings)

95v, 96r and 96v blank

[III] 97r-109r: Ps-Boethius, *Liber de diffinitione*, unattributed here; this is a work by Marius Victorinus [*PL* 64:891A-910C]¹

[IV] 109r-117v: some loose items

109r-111r: a brief text on the topics (illustrated by quotations from classical texts): 109r: «[T]opicorum i.e. localium argumentatio triplex est [...]»; 111r: «[...] cui nulla ex parte iudex iniquus conferendus est»

111v-114r: a brief text on themes from the *De interpretatione* with explication of terms such as «interpretatio», «partes orationes», «oratio», «enumeratio», «affirmatio», «negatio», «argumentum»: 111v: «[P]eriermenie dicuntur quasi de interpretatione. Omnis quippe res [...]»; 114r: «[...] edictum est lex annua. Finit»

114v-117v: a dictionary of terms: 114v: «irotheum duplex reflectio de veteri et novo testamento [...]»; 117v: «librare est proprie aliquid in altum extendere».

Various hands left *notabilia* in the margins², but by far the majority is in Valla's hand. They are always very simple in nature, consisting of a phrase such as «locus quid sit» where «locus» is treated by Cicero or Boethius; sometimes only the word or topic is mentioned, without «quid»

saluaria); sec. XV metà; corsiva all'antica, note marginali di Lorenzo Valla; rubriche, paragrafi e lettere in rosso solo nelle parte iniziale; rileg. antica in assi con chiusure, cartellino all'esterno del piatto post. con i profili rossi 'Cicero in thopica', segno di catenatura» (POMARO, *Censimento dei manoscritti*, 295).

¹ See L. VALLA, *Repasatio dialectice et philosophie*, ed. G. ZIPPEL, Padova 1982, I, 29: «simile Prisciani exemplo est illud Boetii, vel Bede in libro *De diffinitione* [...]».

² On fol. 29v, 30r and 30v words have been entered by a neat, largish hand, who may also have been responsible for the exclamation «o hominem bestialissimum», said of Boethius, on fol. 65r (see below). It is pure speculation but it is tempting to think of Giovanni da Tivoli, whose handwriting is praised by Valla in the above-mentioned letter to Tortelli («manu elegantissima et in orthographia adeo egregium»). Another hand left some glosses on 26r («institutio romanorum erat [...]»), 27v (gloss on Elius) and 50v («non dicit a substantia sed a substantie ratione [...]»); still another hand on 6r, another on 9r, and the copist of the main

or «quid sit». Sometimes the name of a jurist or other person mentioned in the text is copied by Valla in the margin. In the margins of the text of Cicero's *Topica* we find, for instance, words such as «argumentum», «assiduus», «diffinitio», «notio», «abalienatio», «hereditas», «gentiles», «genus» and «species» (see nos. 1-16 below). In the margins of the text of Boethius' *In Ciceronis Topica* we find words, phrases and names such as «Marius Victorinus», «logice», «dialectice», «quid sit censu fieri liberum», «assiduus», «notatio», «vindex», «compascuum», «Ulpiano auctore in Institutis», «Paulus iurisconsultus in Institutis», «Platoni ait placere astra esse animalia rationabilia immortalia», «gentiles», «Aristoteles omnium longe doctissimus», «enthymema», and so forth (see nos. 17-106 below). There are no marginal annotations to the text of the *Liber de definitione*, but the scribe added a number of interlinear glosses, in particular translations of Greek terms. In the later (anonymous) texts there is only one marginal annotation by Valla («evangelice»; no. 107 below). Two of Valla's annotations contain Greek words in his hand: σύμβολον and ἐτυμολογία (nos. 81-82 below)¹ (fig. 5). Other Greek words, however, are in other hands, e.g. ἀτέχνας (3r), συζυγία (2r) and παραγογή².

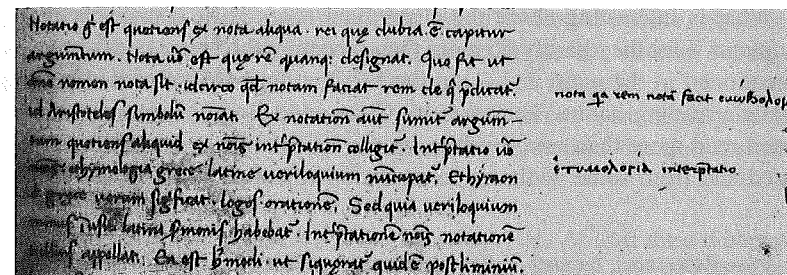


Fig. 5

Valla rarely adds something of his own nor does he give a personal evaluation on what he is reading. The same neutral registering of words and topics treated in the primary text can also be seen in his autograph annotations to Boethius' commentary on Aristotle's *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* in

text on e.g. 4r, 29v and 79v; some notes on 114v (e.g. «Tirones dicebantur milites [...]») may still be of another hand.

¹ For Valla's Greek hand see G. B. ALBERTI, *Autografi greci di Lorenzo Valla nel codice Vaticano greco 122*, «Italia medioev. e umanistica», 3 (1960), 287-90, Tav. XIV (Vat. gr. 122) and XV (Paris lat. 7723); PAGLIAROLI, *Lorenzo Valla e la Poetica di Aristotele*, 353 and Fig. 1 (Paris gr. 2999).

² BML, Conv. soppr. 475, 5r; and other examples occur on 5v, 6v and 10r.

Paris BN 6400D¹, and also in his annotations to Quintilian, though here personal comments and evaluations are added from time to time. To give an example from our MS: even where Boethius refers to Aristotle as «ille uir omnium longe doctissimus» Valla simply repeats these words in the margin: «Aristoteles omnium longe doctissimus» without qualifying this judgement even though he strongly disagreed with it². Only at one place does he note that Boethius uses a false syllogism («falso syllogismo Boetius utitur») where Boethius gives an example of the topic ‘enumeration of parts’: «if a place has foundations, walls, and a roof and is intended for habitation, then it is a house»³. And where Boethius notices that Plato thought the stars to be animated, Valla simply repeats Boethius’ words, whereas in his *Repastinatio*, ignoring this comment on Plato, he lashed out against Aristotle who had held such a view⁴. An interesting exclamation in much bigger letters and in a different, very black ink, occurs on fol. 65r where Boethius argues that Cicero’s ‘contraries’ are better be called ‘opposites’ and vice versa (PL 64:1120D). A reader has written: «o hominem bestialissimum», much in the spirit of Valla, who opposed Boethius’ teaching on this point⁵ (as on many other points of course), but the hand is different from the others in this codex.

What is interesting about these marginal notes is of course not their contents – for they hardly do more than repeating the issue, term or name mentioned in the main text – but the fact that they reflect something of Valla’s reading habits. The texts by Cicero and Boethius seem to have been read more than once by him, as can be seen from the different ink used and from some additions to an earlier round of annotations⁶. Valla

¹ See PAGLIAROLI, *Lorenzo Valla e il commento di Boezio*. Another common feature is that all annotations are written in the outer margins.

² For Valla’s critique of the Aristotelian Organon see my book *In Defence of Common Sense. Lorenzo Valla’s Humanist Critique of Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge, Mass. 2009, chapters 1-3.

³ PL 64:1115A; ed. ORELLI, 339 (trans. E. STUMP, *Boethius’s ‘In Ciceronis Topica’*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1988, 113).

⁴ *Repastinatio*, ed. ZIPPEL, 54-56. At the end of this chapter Plato is mentioned favourably as an author who did not deny the immortality of the soul (*ibid.*, 58).

⁵ *Repastinatio*, ed. ZIPPEL, 498:3. See NAUTA, *In Defense of Common Sense* (as in n. 12 above), ch. 7.

⁶ There are additions in lighter ink to existing annotations on 33r (Valla added, in a different ink, the words «in institutis» to «Ulpiano auctore»), 36r («in institutis» added to «paulus iurisconsultus»), 49r («commentario secundo» added to «Caius iurisconsultus»), and 59v (bracket and the phrases «postliminii notatio» and «in postliminio dissentiunt» in lighter ink). All these additions, as well as a

may have collected these annotations in a note book or he may have used them directly when writing his *Repastinatio* or collecting sources for his *Postille* to Quintilian. Thus many of the terms listed by Valla are mentioned or discussed in the *Repastinatio* (= R) and in the annotations to Quintilian (= P): «locus» (R, 516), «assiduus» (P, 108), «argumentum» (R, 279 and 527); «ius civile» (R, 306 and 555); «argentum» (R, 342; P, 119); «diffinitio» (R, 165 and 168), «hereditas» (R, 342 and 585), «species seu forma» (R, 514, 48 and 189; P, 108), «species partes generis» (R, 48 and 189), «Caesar against Cato» (P, 85), «notatio» (P, 34), «compascuus» (R, 267, 380 and 518; P, 112), «coemptio» (P, 109), «tutela» (P, 162), σύμβολον (R, 172 and 400-1; P, 34), ἐτυμολογία (P, 108; cf. 34), «rei uxorie indicium» (P, 157); «Aquilus Gallus» (P, 130); «septimo casu» (P, 23). Cicero’s example of an argument based on difference (III.15) is quoted by Valla (R, 585 and 342).

A potentially interesting case is a quotation from Boethius’ *In Ciceronis Topica* in *Postille* to Quintilian, where Valla follows the reading *farreanum*: «tribus enim modis uxor habebatur, usu, farreo, coemptione: sed farreanum solis pontificibus conveniebat [...]»¹. In our codex the text reads *confarreatio* with *vel farreanum* as interlinear gloss, probably written by the scribe of the main text². Valla had noticed the place, since he wrote in the margin «uxorum tria genera esse: unum usu, alterum coemptione, farreo tertium, et quomodo» (33r; see no. 34 below).

Valla was interested in Cicero’s work and Boethius’ commentary on it not only because of the theory of topics they contained but also for the

number of other annotations, are in the same, light ink. At least three different kinds of ink were used by Valla in this codex (light and dark, and something in between). It is noteworthy that virtually all the annotations written in the lighter ink have a long or elongated final end-s (e.g. 1r, 2v, 4v, 11r, 13v, 15v, 16r, 20v, 21r, 26r, 33r, 35r, 36r, 61v, 62v, 63r, 64r, 65v, 66v, 69v, 81v, 82r, 85v, 87v, 111r), while those written in very dark ink use a short final end-s (e.g. 1v, 2r, 3r, 3v, 4r, 49r, 55r, 56r, 79r); another, less dark, ink is used on other pages. Valla usually writes a long or elongated final-s, but also frequently a short final-s, and the two are sometimes found in one and the same annotation (on fol. 36r «Paulus iurisconsultus» with twice a short final-s, while the later addition «in institutis» has long final-s; see 56v and elsewhere. Cesarini Martinelli has called Valla’s hand «in ‘realizzazioni’ diverse» (*Postille*, XIX).

¹ PL 64:1071A-B; ed. ORELLI, 299; *Postille*, 109.

² On Valla’s use of ‘al(iter)’ and ‘(ve)l’ see REGOLIOSI, *Le congetture a Livio del Valla*, 58-62 and CESARINI MARTINELLI, XXV-XXVI in the ed. of the *Postille*. Other examples of corrections or alternative readings, entered (so it seems) by the scribe are found on 2r, 4v, 6r, 13r and elsewhere.

legal examples adduced to illustrate the individual topics. Cicero wrote his work for the lawyer Trebatius and frequently used legal issues as examples, as Valla also notices in the *Repastinatio*¹. By the time Boethius wrote his commentary some of the laws mentioned by Cicero were no longer in existence, and Boethius took considerable effort to explain Cicero's references, drawing for instance on Ulpian's manual, no longer extant, for a description of an archaic form of marriage². Valla's interest in Roman law is evident throughout his works, and Cicero's *Topica* and Boethius' commentary were frequently drawn upon in his annotations to Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, a text which of course has a strongly juridical background as well³.

A last question needs to be addressed: when did Valla enter these *notabilia* on reading these texts in this codex? If the annotations indeed served as markers in order to facilitate quick consultation of relevant topics and passages while composing his *Repastinatio*, Valla may have read (and possessed?) the MS already in the early 1430s when he began to compose a first version of this work. This would also make it possible for him to have read the MS more than once during the years when he was revising the *Repastinatio* (in the mid 1440s while still at the court of Alfonso of Aragon, and later in the 1450s, while living in Rome and working in the papal curia). The use of different ink as well as some small changes in the hand of Valla suggest this as well⁴. On the other hand, the main hand responsible for the texts of Cicero and Boethius has been dated 'mid fifteenth century'⁵, which, if taken rather strictly, would hardly allow enough time for frequent study and reading of the MS. Moreover, it would be a bit odd for Valla, mature scholar as he was in the last decade of his life, to notice simply some words in the margins of a text which he had already known, used and quoted in the first version of the *Repastinatio*. One would perhaps have expected also some more comments on the Greek terms which occur in the texts. However, Valla's annotations to Quintilian, which were entered into Paris BN 7723 from 1444 onwards until his death in 1457⁶, show that he continued to study and read his texts in a scholarly way, without letting his polemical style interfering with his

¹ *Repastinatio*, ed. ZIPPEL, 514: 20 and 262: 14.

² See STUMP, *Boethius's 'In Ciceronis Topica'*, 9-11.

³ See the recent collection of essays edited by O. TELLEGEN-COUPERUS, *Quintilian and the law: The art of persuasion in law and politics*, Leuven 2003.

⁴ See n. 16 above.

⁵ See Pomaro's description quoted in n. 3 above.

⁶ See Cesarini Martinelli in *Postille*, XIII.

scholarly reading habits. It is therefore not impossible that these *notabilia* date from the mid fifteenth century, though a slightly earlier date is more likely for reasons just given.

Cicero, *Topica*¹

1. Aristotelica [Aristotelia Hubbell] se ignorare ~ non esse cognitum] paucis esse notum Aristotelem (1r; *Topica* 3, Hubbell 384)
2. locos nosse debemus] locus quid sit (1v; *Topica* 7, Hubbell 386. Cf. R, 516)
3. argumentum autem rationem que rei dubie faciat fidem] argumentum quid sit (1v; *Topica* 8, Hubbell 386. Cf. R, 279 and 527)
4. is est enim assiduus, ut ait Lelius [L. Aelius Hubbell], appellatus ab acre [vel asse superscr.; aere Hubbell] dando] assiduus quis sit (2r; *Topica* 10; Hubbell 388. Cf. P, 108)²
5. in nominibus ~ in nominibus] in nominibus/in tabulis argentum (2v, phrases coupled by a bracket; *Topica* 16; Hubbell 392. Cf. R, 342; P, 119)
6. definitio est oratio] diffinitio quid sit (3r; *Topica* 27; Hubbell 398. Cf. R, 165 and 168)
7. quam notionem uoco] notio quid sit (3r; *Topica* 27; Hubbell 400)
8. abalienatio est] abalienatio quid sit (3v; *Topica* 28; Hubbell 400)
9. hereditas est pecunia] hereditas quid sit (3v; *Topica* 29; Hubbell 400. Cf. R, 342 and 585)
10. gentiles sunt] gentiles qui sint (3v; *Topica* 29; Hubbell 402)
11. genus notio est] genus quid sit (4r; *Topica* 31; Hubbell 404) (fig. 6)
12. forma est notio est] species seu forma quid sit (4r; *Topica* 31; Hubbell 404. Cf. R, 514, 48 and 189; P, 108) (fig. 6)
13. notionem appello] notio quid sit (4r; *Topica* 31; Hubbell 404) (fig. 6)

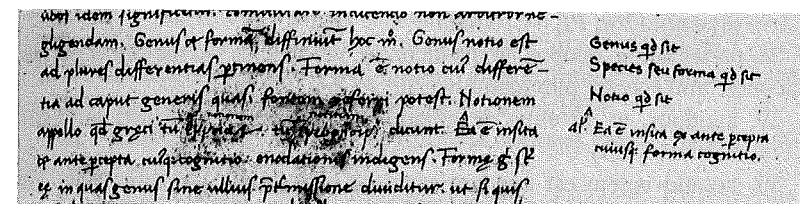


Fig. 6

¹ I cite from the texts as they occur in BML, Conv. soppr. 475, with occasional readings from Hubbell (in case of Cicero's text) and Patrologia Latina and Orelli (Boethius' text).

² The interlinear gloss 'vel asse' seems in the scribe's hand.

14. postlimini vis queritur ~ in quo Servius ~ Scevola] postliminii interpretatio secundum Servium Scevolamque (4v; *Topica* 36; Hubbell 408)

15. prima pietas, secunda sanctitas, tertia iustitia aut [atque Hubbell] aequitas] pietas/sanctitas/iustitia quid (11r; *Topica* 90; Hubbell 452. The three words are coupled by a bracket)

16. quibus omnibus generibus usus est nimis impudenter Cesar contra Catonem meum] contra Cesarem qui his generibus contra Ciceronem in Catone usus est (11v; *Topica* 94; Hubbell 454. Cf. P, 85)

Boethius, *In Ciceronis Topica*

17. sed cum in M. Tullii Topica Marius Victorinus] Marius Victorinus (13v; *PL* 64:1041B)

18. disciplina ~ quam logicen Peripatetici veteres appellaverunt] logicen appellavere veteres peripatetici (15v; *PL* 64:1045A)

19. Stoici ~ dialecticam vocat] dialecticam appellavere stoici (15v; *PL* 64:1045A/B)

20. Aristoteles uero logicam vocat] logicam Aristoteles appellavit (15v; *PL* 64:1045B)

21. logica igitur que est] logice quid (16r; *PL* 64:1045C)

22. in qua dialecticam Aristoteles] dialectice quid (16r; *PL* 64:1045C)

23. quod qui priores posterioresque ~ transtulimus] Boethius transtulit priores et posteriores analyticos (20v; *PL* 64:1051B)¹

24. vel nostra ab Aristotele translata] Boethius transtulit Aristotelis topica (20v; *PL* 64:1052B)

25. differentia specifica est] specifica differentia (21r; *PL* 64:1052C/D)

26. una quidem ut censu liber fiat ~ Romanum] quid sit censu fieri liberum (26r; *PL* 64:1060B)

27. vindicta vero est virgula] quid sit vindicta fieri liberum sed a Tito Livio dissentit (26r; *PL* 64:1060C)²

28. partes autem duobus modis dicuntur, vel species vel membra] partes dicuntur tum species tum membra (26r; *PL* 64:1060D)

29. assiduus, ut ait elius, appellatus ab ere dando] assiduus quid sit (27v; *PL* 64:1062B)

30. notatio autem est quedam nominis interpretatio] notatio quid sit (27v; *PL* 64:1062C. Cf. Valla, *Postille*, 34)

31. vindex est] vindex quid sit (27v; *PL* 64:1062C)

32. quid enim est assiduus] assiduus quid sit (27v; *PL* 64:1062D)

¹ Probably Valla's hand, though it is slightly more neat than the other autographical annotations.

² Livy is not mentioned by Boethius, so this is Valla's own addition.

33. simul pascere liceat pecus] compascuum quid sit (31v; *PL* 64:1069A. Cf. R, 267, 380 and 518; P, 112)

34. tribus enim modis uxor habebatur: usu, confarreatio [vel farreanum superscr.], coemptione] uxorum tria genera esse: unum usu, alterum coemptione, farreo tertium, et quomodo (33r; *PL* 64:1071A/B)¹ (fig. 7)

35. coemptio uero] coemptio quid (33r; *PL* 64:1071B. Cf. P, 109) (fig. 7)

36. in suis Institutis Ulpianus] Ulpiano auctore in Institutis (33r; *PL* 64:1071B) (fig. 7)

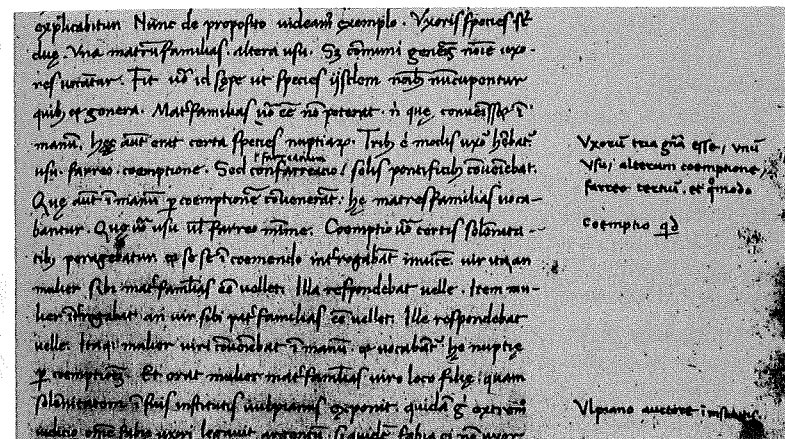


Fig. 7

37. in nominibus non debita] nomina quid sint (34r; *PL* 64:1072D)

38. utimur ~ abutimur] uti et abuti quid sint (34v; *PL* 64:1073C)

39. vel exstitisse vel extare vel exstaturum] vel extitisse vel extare vel extaturum Boethius ait (35r; *PL* 64:1074A)

40. capitis diminutio] capitis diminutio quid (35r; *PL* 64:1074C)

41. vel maxima uel media uel minima] capitis diminutio triplex maxima media minima et earum diffinitiones (35r; *PL* 64:1074C)

42. Paulus institutorum libri .ii. titulo de dotibus] Paulus iurisconsultus in Institutis (36r; *PL* 64:1075D)

43. secundus heres dicitur] secundus heres quid sit (37v; *PL* 64:1077D)

44. damni infecti promissio est] damni infecti promissio quid sit (38r; *PL* 64:1078D)

45. regi fines dicuntur] regi fines quid (39r; *PL* 64:1080C)

46. arcet uero aquam] arcere aquam quid (39r; *PL* 64:1080C)

¹ Orelli's ed. has 'farreo' (299). See above.

47. fundi uero usucapio, biennii temporis spatio ~ immobilium] usucapio de rebus mobilibus anni spatio. Usucapio de immobilibus biennii spatio (39v; *PL* 64:1081B)
48. species uero est] species quid (45r; *PL* 64:1089A)
49. notio dicitur] notio (48r; *PL* 64:1093B)
50. quid sit ius civile] ius civile quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094C. Cf. R, 306 and 555)
51. lex igitur] lex quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094C)
52. senatusconsulta sunt] senatusconsulta quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094C)
53. res iudicate sunt] res iudicate quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094C)
54. iurisperitorum auctoritas est] iurisperitorum auctoritas quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094D)
55. edicta magistratuum] edicta magistratuum quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094D)
56. mos est] mos quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094D)
57. equitas est] equitas quid (48v; *PL* 64:1094D)
58. partitio est] partitio quid (49r; *PL* 64:1094D)
59. quid sit abalienatio] abalienatio quid (49r; *PL* 64:1094D)
60. mancipi res veteres appellabant] mancipi quid sit (49r; *PL* 64:1095A)
61. nexus uero est] nexus quid sit (49r; *PL* 64:1095A)
62. in Institutionibus Gaius exponit] Caius iurisconsultus in Institutionibus (49r; *PL* 64:1095A)
63. est autem Mancipatio] Mancipatio quid sit (49r; *PL* 64:1095A)
64. qui appellatur libripens] libripens quid sit (49r; *PL* 64:1095B)
65. mancipi] mancipi quid (49r; *PL* 64:1095B)
66. cessio uero] cessio quid sit (49r; *PL* 64:1095B)
67. ut secundo commentario idem Gaius exposuit] Caius iurisconsultus commentario secundo (49r; *PL* 64:1095B/C)
68. legis actio [auctio *Orelli*] vocabitur] auctio legis quid sit (49v; *PL* 64:1095C)
69. possunt enim esse animalia rationabilia, sicut Platoni quoque de astris placet] Platoni ait placere astra esse animalia rationabilia immortalia (53v; *PL* 64:1101D; *Orelli*, 328)
70. de definitione gentilitatis] gentiles quid sint (55r; *PL* 64:1104A)
71. gentiles sunt qui inter se] gentiles quid sint (55r; *PL* 64:1104B)
72. notio uero intellectus] notio quid sit (56r; *PL* 64:1106A)
73. genus est] genus quid sit (56r; *PL* 64:1106B)
74. forma est notio] forma vel species quid sit (56r; *PL* 64:1106C. Cf. R, 514, 48 and 189; P, 108)
75. notio est insita] notio quid sit (56v; *PL* 64:1106C) (fig. 8)
76. Plato ideas quasdam esse ponebat, id est, species incorporeas sub-

stantiasque constantes quia per se ab aliis nature ratione separatas] idee Platonis i.e. species incorporee substantieque constantes ab aliis nature ratione separate (56v; *PL* 64:1106C; ed. *Orelli*, 322) (fig. 8)

77. at uero Aristoteles nullas putat extra esse substantias] Aristoteles de ideis (56v; *PL* 64:1106D) (fig. 8)

78. notio est] notio quid sit (56v; *PL* 64:1107A) (fig. 8)

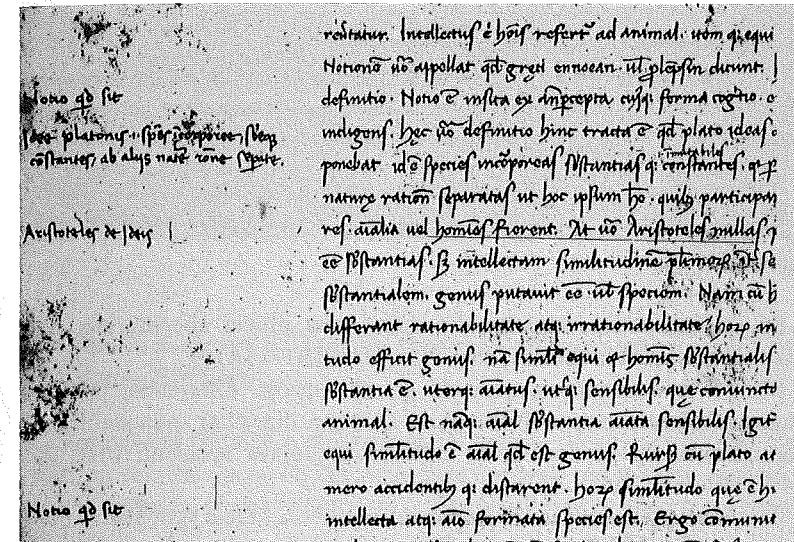


Fig. 8

79. tutela quippe quattuor fere modis] tutela quot modis est (58r; *PL* 64:1109C. Cf. P, 162)

80. Merobaudes uero rhetor] Merobaudes rhetor (58r; *PL* 64:1109D)

81. quo fit ut omne nomen nota sit, idcirco quod notam faciat rem de qua predicatur, id Aristoteles symbolum nominat] nota qua rem notam facit σύμβολον (59r; *PL* 64:1111B. Cf. R, 172 and 400-1; P, 34)

82. interpretatio uero nominis ethymologia grece] ἐτυμολογία interpretatio (59r; *PL* 64:1111B/C. Cf. P, 108, and cf. 34)

83. postliminii ius queritur] postliminium quid sit (59v; *PL* 64:1111C)

84. ut Servius probat ~ quod est postliminium Scevola] Servius iurisconsultus/ Scevola iurisconsultus/ in postliminio dissentiunt (59v; *PL* 64:1111D/1112A)¹

¹ The two names are connected with the words «in postliminio dissentiunt» by means of a bracket.

85. ergo ex notatione nominis ita ius postliminii] postliminii notatio (59v; PL 64:1111D) (fig. 9)

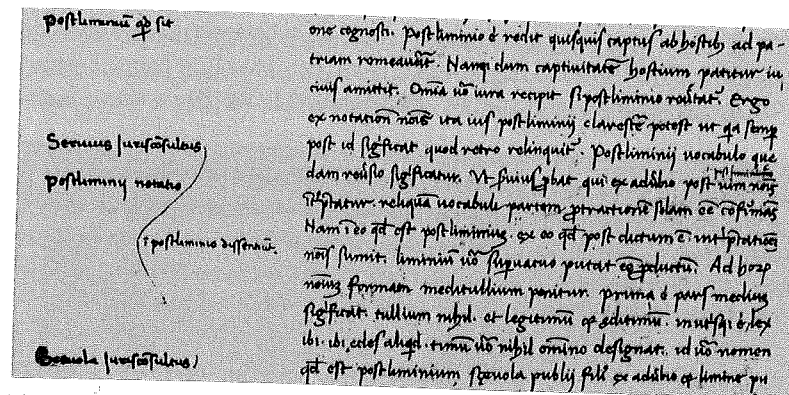


Fig. 9

86. huius species duplex. Alia enim aqua pluvia nocens, alia non nocens] aque pluvie species (61r; PL 64:1112D/1113A)

87. eos commentarios, quos de genere, specie, differentia, proprio, atque accidenti composuimus libris quinque digestos] quinque Boetii commentarii de genere specie differentia proprio accidenti (61r; PL 64:1114B; ed. ORELLI, 329)

88. omne animal aut rationale est aut irrationale] falso syllogismo Boetius utitur (61v; PL 64:1115A)

89. fiduciam vero accepit] fiducia quid (62v; PL 64:1116D)

90. hec mancipatio fiducia] fiducia quid sit (62v; PL 64:1117A)

91. finalia litigia] litigia finalia (62v; PL 64:1117A)

92. ante moreretur quam in suam tutelam] ante suam tutelam quid sit (63r; PL 64:1117B/C. Cf. P, 162)

93. que vocatur substitutio pupillaris] substitutio pupillaris quid (63r; PL 64:1117C)

94. specierum constitutivae] constitutivae specierum (63v; PL 64:1118B)

95. ille vir omnium longe doctissimus] Aristoteles omnium longe doctissimus (64r; PL 64:1119B; ed. ORELLI 342)

96. sed M. Tullius] Ciceronem notat (65r; PL 64:1120D)

97. septimo casu] de septimo casu (65v; PL 64:1121D. Cf. P, 23)

98. in coniecturalibus ~ Gallum] coniecturales causas ad iurisconsultum non pertinere Galloquoque Aquilio testante (66v; PL 64:1123A/B; see PL 64:1108A (ed. ORELLI, 346 and 333). See P, 130)

99. sed neutrum neutri est genus] neutrum neutri est genus (69v; PL 64:1127D)

100. entimema namque est] enthymema quid sit (79r; PL 64:1142D)

101. fatum enim dicunt esse ~ atque catene] catena fatalis (81v; PL 64:1146C)

102. Merobaudes rhetor] Merobaudes rhetor (82r; PL 64:1147B)

103. non personarum vetustatem ~ M. Tullium secundo Tusculanarum disputationum libro] non vetustatem personarum rationi proponendam, quid etiam probat testimonio Ciceronis ex libris Tusculanarum questionum (84v; PL 64:1152A; ed. ORELLI, 372)¹

104. eos locos quos Victorinus frustra atque inconvenienter interserit] contra Victorinum (87v; PL 64:1156C; ed. ORELLI, 377)

105. omnes enim iniuriosi sunt] iniuriosi (87v; PL 64:1156D)

106. est autem indicium uxorie rei] rei uxorie indicium quid sit (88v; PL 64:1158B. See P, 157)

107. quedam enim similitudines evangelice] evangelice (111r)²

LODI NAUTA

4. Monete di Cesare tra Firenze, Pesaro e Lodi e una lettera di Giovanni Matteo Bottigella

Storiografia classica e biografie degli uomini illustri sembrano essere stati, in sensibile accordo con le istanze culturali più avvertite presso la corte lombarda, generi letterari particolarmente graditi a Giovanni Matteo Bottigella, poliedrico umanista pavese sul quale in anni recenti nuova luce è stata proiettata dagli studi di Massimo Zaggia³. Per i Decembrio, Valagussa e Filelfo, il Bottigella, attivo a Milano nella cerchia prima viscontea poi sforzesca e destinatario di carmi e opere in prosa, rappresentò un referente autorevole nell'ambiente ducale, in cui fin dai primi anni Quaranta godette di ampi consensi.

Promotore di opere d'arte ma soprattutto bibliofilo, il Bottigella commissionò codici importanti nella Milano di metà Quattrocento. Tra i dodici manoscritti della sua biblioteca finora rinvenuti, l'interesse per la storia antica, aperto anche ai più recenti contributi della letteratura umanistica, trapela da un significativo nucleo di codici esemplato tra il 1443 e il 1444: si rinvengono le *Historiae Alexandri* di Curzio Rufo, il *Liber*

¹ Valla's title («Tusculanarum questiones») recurs in his *Postille* to Quintilian (p. 62 and p. 10; alternatively we find «in Tusculanis», p. 38; vd. p. 134, 244 and 245).

² On an anonymous text (see the description of the MS above). I am grateful to John Monfasani and Stefano Pagliaroli for their comments on this article.

³ Giovanni Matteo Bottigella cortigiano, uomo di lettere e committente d'arte.